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[1] port of Kalabahi on the western bay to Kalera on the east coast, but by [2] pushing himself a native can walk the distance in some four days. The [3] usual time allowed by officials on horseback is five. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that linguistic variation has been fostered by the difficulty of communication.

[5] Culturally too, changes grade from one into the other as one passes [6] from village to village. The only sharp demarcations are between the [7] ten thousand coastal Mohammedans and the pagan mountain peoples of the interior. These two groups hold each other in mutual distrust and [8] fear. At the end of the nineteenth century Chinese merchants began [9] trading on the coast. After the arrival of the first Dutch official in about 1908 coastal men have been designated as radjahs by the Dutch and have been given control over the interior. This control was only gradually extended and was considered by the Hollanders still to be in process, since Malay is not yet widely known in the interior and taxes are still reluctantly paid. Prior to the Hollanders' arrival no such areas of political organization existed, social control centered about kin and village groups. Certainly the coastal people exercised no power over the mountain population, despite brisk trade contacts at stipulated market places.

[10] At present the island is divided into four radjahships: Alor proper [11] (including the islands of Pura and Pantar), Kui, Batulolong, and Ko- [12] lana. These political divisions cut across both culture and language. Un- [13] der each radjah are kapitans who, with the assistance of a handful of field police, administer smaller districts. The principal functions of the radjahs and kapitans are collecting taxes and hearing litigations. A chief called the kepala (Malay for head) has been appointed for these tasks in each village, and groups of friendly villages have been unified under a headman called a temukung. This hierarchy is a Dutch innovation, but it has been quite heartily accepted by the native population, with whom it functions successfully. The system of litigation, however, has been far more completely accepted than the system of taxation.

[14] The government of the Netherlands East Indies is represented by a civil administrator of controleur rank and by a military authority of lieutenant's rank in charge of a garrison of some seventy Indonesian troops. Two or three patrols of fifteen men are constantly on the move through the island, often cutting across the most difficult terrain and always without announcing their route of travel. In addition there is a military doctor, who is responsible for the health of the entire population. He has a hospital in Kalabahi and a small corps of Indonesian assistants with limited training.

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(30 cents) to that of your rupiahs ($1.50).* Pigs are usually estimated in terms of moko values. Thus a pig (*fe*) is called a Piki fe, meaning it is worth a Piki moko, or in East Indies currency, about 3 rupiahs ($1.50).

Currency is invested in three primary directions: first, the purchase of a wife, which is not a single negotiation but a series of extremely complex familial exchanges that last as long as the marriage itself; second, a series of burial feasts that may drag on for a generation or two before the series is completed; third, the building of the lineage houses, entailing financial elaborations that may take several years and delay the completion of the dwelling far beyond the actual building time.

There are many kinds of smaller investments in which fish food such as pigs and goats is used, most frequently chickens suffice. Such outlays are made at sacrifices on several occasions: when the village guardian spirit (*alowai*) is erected and dragged into the carving erected for it; when any one of a whole host of personal familiars is placed;

*These mokos are shaped like hourglasses. Actually, moko is not the Alorese word but the most widely used Malay term. The mokos are not of local manufacture; they were formerly imported from Java for Makassarese traders who exchanged them for goods. Since importation of the drums stopped half a century ago, the supply is no longer adequate and their value is rising. A government census taken some twenty years ago reported the possession of twenty thousand mokos throughout the island.

The values here assigned to each of the various categories of mokos in rupiahs, the monetary unit of the Netherlands East Indies. For mokos who may be interested in estimating the worth of the mokos quoted in this book, a list of the categories and their assigned values is given here. Rupiahs were maintained at the same exchange rates as Dutch guilders (florins). The currency values when given as dollars have been translated at the rate of two rupiahs to a dollar. Monetary values for mokos became established in the early 1900's, when money was about twice as cheap as it was in 1938. Therefore, to get the cash price of a moko in 1938 it would be necessary to halve the listed worth.

Moko	Rupiahs	Dollars	Moko	Rupiahs	Dollars
Lakapale	1	.50	Kolenda	12	6.00
Bikila	2	1.00	Tlawanda	14	7.00
Piki	3 1/2	1.75	Tolaang	16	8.00
Kabal	5	2.50	Pulawa	20	10.00
Piki	6	3.00	Ajimala	28	14.00
Tawaaroa	8	4.00	Afalpa	30	15.00
Hlakkal	9	4.50	Makkawar	150 and up	
Tawarda	10	5.00	Ellawa	300 and up	
Mankgawaik	10	5.00	Mlaka	1000 and up	

This list is incomplete, and from the Kolenda on, the values are only approximate. There are many subdivisions of these higher mokos categories and considerable variation in prices given by informants. The sequence of relative values, however, is accurate.

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account for some of the "visions" leading to individual acquisition of personal spirits. These spirits are of many different types. Lolus and Gimang are the commonest inquirational familiars of seers. Is-wari (literally means moon-sun; also called sinala) are inherited and are usually componentional. They serve in a variety of "good fortune" capacities. Nets are primarily wealth-bringing spirits and are associated with the sea, frequently manifesting themselves as fish, crabs, crayfish, and eels. One person's familiar may be another person's evil spirit (*hari*, a generic term).

The whole countryside is populated with *genii loci* whose good or evil influence depends upon the personal relationship established with them. They are all reasonably well known within a radius of two to four miles and are called by personal human names, usually paired. These couples are either siblings or spouses. They may be represented by carvings all of one type, a crocodile-like figure called nagy in Malay. These carvings may be erected on a pole, placed on a platform-like altar, or kept in the loft of a small shed.

There are also "Good Beings" (*mata hawg*, which literally means something good) associated with either the sea or the sky and envisaged in human form. Persons who have disappeared mysteriously or, in rare instances, children who have been lost may be invested with the qualities of Good Beings. The bulk of what the Ariteulanger considers his mythology deals with such supernaturals, who are sometimes thought to be lineage ancestors. There are many contemporary exercises of prophets who predicted the imminent advent of Good Beings. The disappearance of disease and of death and the financial obligations accompanying it are usually part of such prophecies. This whole concept will undoubtedly become the center of revivalistic cults when Alorese culture crumbles as it inevitably will under the impact of foreign colonization.

There is also the village guardian spirit (*alowat*), a being whose attributes are vague and confused but who is connected somehow with the dark area in the Milky Way and whose presence and good will insure crops and wealth for the village. This spirit is often equated with a vaguely conceived supreme being called Lahatala, which is probably a word of Mohammedan origin, and with the Christian God, called by the Malay term *Tuan Allah*. It is represented by a large crocodile-like carving similar to the smaller ones made for all kinds of personal familiars. The village guardian should receive sacrifices every year or two—at which times an expert is called to search him out where he lurks somewhere underground near a dance place and drag him to the carving where he is to be fed. The responsibility for this ceremony

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Fanon the interpreter.

Fanon's attire is influenced by his contacts with a foreign culture.

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In full regalia this man strikes a pose that he considers suitable.

This pseudo-Semitic type is often found on Alor.

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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of training and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From these the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Leonard's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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556 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest
578 broke out. Malisani's Male House I, a man called Malikaliera, came to
his support. This time Malisani was victorious in the reckoning of
slaughtered pigs.

578 In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had
602 been poisoned by Malisani's brother, because of their protracted hostil-
ity. This did not prevent Malisani from giving burial services as the
[764] representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effec-
tively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of
payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House
kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Malisani. There
was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's
feud with the Malisani faction. This did not mean that the two sets of
opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to
their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood
back to back against Malikaliera in a quarrel over payments for their
services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikaliera's lin-
eage house.

536 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the
602 light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth
154 contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of per-
sonal hostilities, for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as
well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are deter-
mined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consist-
ent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why
neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest
break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kahakwk*) the system
is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has
[77] been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a sys-
tem of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public
debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more
rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still
[28] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that
only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There
is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of
which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted
here.

695 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvi-
681 ous intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his
627 innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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purging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this [575]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 681
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (*nakuel, nakwar;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure [601]
profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of [554]
financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [83]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [177]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 636
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 637
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial cul-

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place, the wielder of the pole begins switching the bundle rapidly back and forth as he circles the dance place six times. He is surrounded by the lowers, who try to lose the head bundle as it flicks back and forth. At the end of the sixth round the lowers seize the pole and bundle, rush to the village edge, and toss the bundle off into the bush, where no further attention is paid to it. Now the dead kinsman has a "spouse" (i.e. the fellow victim) and will not return to make trouble for his living kin. The thrashing given the head bundle is supposed to kill the spirit of the spouse so that it too will no longer be a menace. 135 433 727 [778]

The final ceremonial gesture is the mock feeding of the lowers. They stand in a row on their dance place and a piece of rice cone is offered them. They pretend to take a bite, but actually the rice is rapidly passed over their shoulders to children standing behind each lowers, who run off and eat it secretly. This appeases the dead kinsman. The same procedure is repeated by the others on the village boundary. This appeases the spouse of the dead kin. 727 749

It is consistent with the picture drawn so far of food and finance that the malignancy even of souls cannot be fully appeased until gestures of this sort are made. The cost of such appeasement must set some curtail excessive head-hunting. The financial confluence of placating the dead is true also for the ordinary death feasts and for the spirit-bird ceremonies that replace the death feast series in cases of violent deaths. This latter type of ceremony parallels in form that just described for a human head. There are three or four species of small birds which, when killed and dried, may be sold as spouses for those dead from accident or from dysentery, leprosy, or smallpox. It is important in terms of local values that even though a man has caught a spirit bird he may not use it to appease his own dead kin, but must buy one from some other set of six captives. 835 [834]

An instance of nice adjustment occurred when the Dutch put an end to head-hunting. Spirit-bird ceremonies were substituted for head ceremonies where vengeance had not yet been secured, so that the soul of the murdered man could be appeased. The Alorese were caught by cultural changes between the fear of their dead kin and the living Dutch. Fortunately they had at hand a ceremonial device they could, and were willing to, substitute in order to avoid this dilemma. If this device had not been available it is possible that the natives would have feared their dead more than the Dutch garrison and that head-hunting would not have ended so quickly and easily. As it was, the solution was probably as much of a relief to the natives as it was to the government. 177 727 714

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333 One source of status and distinction is not included on a current list
177 of minor skills; that is, bravery in war. Before the pacification of the
● island by the Hollanders a man might gain distinction through wealth or warfare. Today only wealth remains. For the successful warrior a special status term exists that means essentially a "killer," a "bad man" (*kâ*). Seers also have a special status term (*tinang*).

339 At present in Atimelang only two men are definitely at the nonprivileged end of the scale. One is a man about forty years old who has never married and never distinguished himself in any way. The other is a young simpleton who still associates with boys and is a docile servitor to his elder kin. Otherwise, even satellites and poor men are to some extent involved, or hoping to become involved, in the competitive system. Perhaps this is one reason, combined with others, that skills are on so low a level in the community. The foregoing list of people known
[441] for special abilities indicates the poverty of the range. It does not, however, indicate the triviality of the reward. Such skills may serve to identify their possessors, but little more. They are not substitutes for wealth, and the power they give over other people is minimal. They may arouse a modicum of respect but they give no true prestige.

736 The seer has opportunities for wielding social power, but that power,
343 though real, is covert. The payments he gets for curing are so small that they serve only as a supplementary source of income. His position is reminiscent of the more academic scientists in our culture, whose power is indirect and whose reward financially is not comparable to that of a "captain of industry." In the autobiographies are the histories of two seers, a man and a woman. I have the impression that they are both people with a considerable desire for power who are using the role of seer to induce their own image of themselves because the financial role is largely blocked. Rilpada's life history and dreams deserve special study from that point of view.

441 It could be argued that such substitutive gratifications might be expected to flourish in a society where the cultural goal is so often associated with frustrations and difficulties. That they do not may be symptomatic of a general underdevelopment of memory techniques. It is patent that in practically all specialties there is a singular abandonment of achievement. Maikalowa, who is listed as a man distinguished for gardening, planted a field far too large for his labor resources for weeding it. A careful study I made of his expenditures in gardening feasts and of his returns revealed that he had lost out in the enterprise, although he did not seem aware of the fact.

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all

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cut its throat. There were eight of us mountain men staying together [37] and there were a great many Kebois men. We divided the meat and each one got only ten small cubes. People told my wife, who already had a child, that we had killed a deer and had not sent the meat. My wife said, "We are not married any more. He doesn't send meat." Her mother and father were angry too. When I returned I brought a coconut and some salt. I didn't stop but went right through to my garden at Manifola. I sent the salt and coconut to my mother and asked her to take them to my wife. My mother took them to my wife, but she refused to accept them. So I gave the coconut and salt to the chief of Dikimpe, who was sick. [Pause.]

I stayed here and was not happy, so I returned to Kalabahi. I took a rupiah and lost it all the first night playing cards. Then the doctor wanted to go on a trip, and we went along as carriers. The first night we slept in Alor Kecbil. From there we went to Kokar. There were many coconuts. The corporal bought some and we ate them. That night we hunted shrimps and eels, and cooked and ate them. The next [325] day early we went to Ainsoling. People came for injections. They [371] brought chickens and money to pay for them. The doctor gave us a present of two chickens and we ate them. We went on and slept at Adang. There the people brought many chickens (to pay) for injections, and the doctor gave us one. The doctor's cooking pot was carried off by a dog. The next day we went to Tupahang. After the people had injections we went on to Buyoma. The doctor gave us half a tin of rice and a chicken. We got two other chickens. The carriers of the doctor's assistant and of the corporal got three. The next day the injections were finished. The corporal stayed overnight, but the doctor's adopted child wanted to get back to Kalabahi. So we went that night to Kalabahi. We slept in the house of the doctor's servant near the cemetery until the doctor went home. We had chicken and rice to eat. Then the doctor's servant came and ordered us to carry the luggage on to the doctor's house. We did and came back to sleep. The next day was Sunday, so we did not get our wages. On Monday we went and each was to get two and a half rupiahs, but we were fined because the cooking pot had been stolen by a dog, and so we got only seventy-five cents. My wife and mother-in-law were in the market, so I bought ten cents' [342] worth of fish and ten cents' worth of salt. My wife wouldn't take the fish. She threw it in the ditch. She said she didn't want anything from me. My mother-in-law felt the same way. They went home, so I gave the fish to the wife of the member of Dikimpe. [Pause.] That night we

The *Franconia* was due the next morning on its around-the-world cruise, and even Alor no longer seemed remote from the outside world. For all of its seventy thousand natives, there were only ten whites on the island that year. The other nine were Netherlands East Indies officials; as for me, I had come to live among the Alorese for a year and a half in the somewhat anomalous position of an ethnographer. A bamboo-and-thatch house had been built for me up in a mountain village a day's journey from the coastal port of Kalabahi, where the Holtekamps lived. Still, knowing that the *Franconia* was due in Kalabahi, I had set out at dawn, eager to see fellow countrymen and to speak English again after months of frustrating efforts in what passed for Dutch and Malay. Most of the six hundred villagers went down to the coast with me. The large ship, the crowds of strange whites and, above all, the assortment items they were required to pay for everyday articles were tremendous drawing cards. Not that the Alorese had much use for Dutch money—they did need it to pay the government head tax and occasionally liked to spend it for some of the gaudy foreign goods on display in the Chinese shops, on their rare trips to the coast, but in their dealings amongst themselves they employed a quite different type of currency.

These anecdotal details of nine years perhaps a word of explanation. When I had arrived in Alor some four months before, I thought that even the eighteen months I planned to stay would not be long enough to accustom me to them. Their slender ugliness, the long arms with hands outlasting perched on the men's woolly hair, the black skins and prehensile toes, the dirt and odors, the thousand and one strange impressions of an unfamiliar life and people seemed stronger than their essential humanity. Already, however, these first impressions had gone and I saw only a group of vivid personalities whose social and individual problems were becoming as real and as commonplace as those of any American community of six hundred. That their village was called Atimelang instead of Middletown, that their names were the euphonious Mallemi, Kabelmani or Maledaka instead of

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